DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 258 360 EA 017 858

TITLE School Effectiveness: Expectations.
INSTITUTION Minnesota State Dept. of Education, St. Paul.
PUB DATE 85
NOTE 27p.
PUB TYPE Guides - Non-Classroom Use (055)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Failure; Classroom Communication; Elementary Secondary Education; Feedback; Models; Reinforcement; Student Motivation; *Teacher Attitudes; *Teacher Behavior; *Teacher Effectiveness; Teacher Influence; *Teacher Response; Teacher Responsibility; Teacher Role; *Teacher Student Relationship; Teaching Styles
IDENTIFIERS *Teacher Expectations

ABSTRACT

This module, prepared by the Minnesota State Department of Education in conjunction with its school effectiveness program, addresses the concept of teacher expectations. The first section delineates the feedback process involved in teacher expectations and lists nonacademic factors that can adversely influence a teacher's academic expectations for a student. The second section identifies 15 teacher behaviors, in 3 categories, that communicate differential expectations to high and low achieving students: (1) response opportunities (equal chance to answer, individual help, latency, delving, and higher level questioning); (2) feedback (affirmation or correction, praise, specific reason for praise, listening, and accepting feelings); and (3) personal regard (proximity, courtesy, personal interest, touching, and desisting). The third section lists instructional strategies that help sustain high expectations. These include strategies to meet individual differences, close monitoring, minimum standards, emphasis on progress relative to student's past performance rather than comparison with others, and diagnostic teaching. Selected resources, implementation suggestions, and an extensive annotated bibliography are included. (TE)

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INTRODUCTION

Most researchers on effective schools identify "high expectations for all students" as an important characteristic. Most teachers would agree that they have high expectations for their students. That is, there are standards which students need to attain to be successful. However, there often is a difference between classroom standards and teacher expectation toward students. This module will:

- define teacher expectations,
- explain the process of expectations,
- identify teacher behaviors which communicate expectations,
- list instructional strategies which help sustain high expectations.

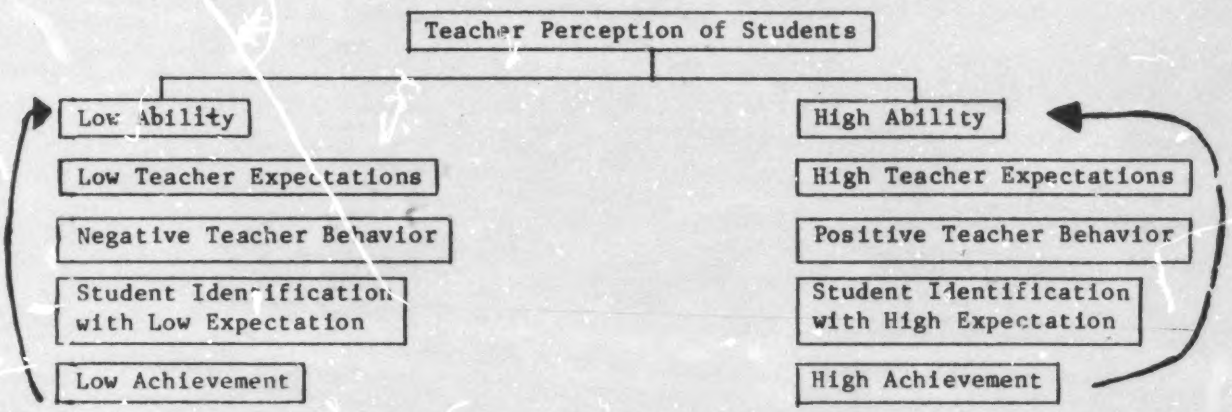
Characteristic 10: High expectations commonly shared among staff for the performance of all students.

A landmark study in the area of teacher expectation was Pygmalion in the Classroom (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). The researchers told teachers that certain students had been identified as those who were about to "bloom" intellectually and could be expected to make significant gains during the school year. Actually, these students had been randomly selected, yet during the year their scores went up more than others in the classroom. The reason, concluded Rosenthal & Jacobson, was that teachers behave differently toward different students and that behavior affects and shapes students' self-concept, achievement motivation, and levels of aspiration. Teacher expectation can affect student academic performance. High student expectations tend to produce high achievement; low student expectations tend to produce low achievement.

PROCESS MODEL

A model of how teacher expectations can affect student behavior appears below.

Teacher Expectations Model



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If this model exists in the classroom, the following can be expected:

1. The teacher perceives and expects specific behaviors and achievement from particular students.

2. Because of these varied expectations, the teacher's behavior differs toward students.

3. Teacher behaviors communicate to students what behavior and achievement the teacher expects from them. This affects their self-concept, achievement motivation, and level of aspiration.

4. If treatment is consistent over time, and if the students do not resist or change it in some way, it will shape student achievement and behavior. High-expectation students will be led to achieve at high levels, whereas the achievement of low-expectation students will decline.

5. With time, student achievement and behavior will conform more and more closely to the behavior originally expected of them.

The individual teacher's assessment of student ability often is based on factors other than their test scores. Lowered academic expectations are also due to:

- **Sex** - Lower expectations for elementary boys and for older girls. This is a function of beliefs about boys' slower maturation and sex role discrimination for older girls.

- **Socio-Economic Status** - Level of parental education, types of jobs held, place of residence, etc.

- **Race** - Lower expectations for minority students.

- **Test scores, permanent records** - Belief in "fixed ability" precludes possibility of improvement.

- **Negative comments** - About students from other teachers, the lounge, or the principals' evaluation.

- **Appearance** - Lower expectations associated with clothes, grooming that is out of style, or cheaper materials.

- **Oral language patterns** - Non-standard English.

- **Neatness** - Lack of organization or poor handwriting.

- **Halo effect** - Tendency to label a child's over-all ability based on one characteristic (e.g. poor behavior becomes the basis of overall negative evaluation).

- **Readiness** - Negative effects of assuming that maturation rates or prior lack of knowledge or experience are an unchanging phenomena, thus precluding improvement.

- **Seating position** - Lower expectations for sides and back of the classroom.
- **Student behavior** - Poor behavior.
- **Tracking or grouping** - Labeling and maintaining status based on label.

DIFFERENTIATED TEACHER BEHAVIOR

In what ways, then, do teachers vary their behavior toward high and low achieving students? It must be noted that if teachers do show discriminative behaviors, it is probable that they are unaware of them. Most teachers feel they are fair to their students. The best way to assess these behaviors is to have a colleague observe classroom interactions. One program developed in California, TESA (Teacher Expectation-Student Achievement) has identified fifteen behaviors from three major interaction categories. TESA training includes learning classroom observation techniques and providing feedback to the teacher.

Strand I: Response Opportunities

Students have an opportunity to participate in the classroom in five ways:

A. **Equal Chance to Answer** - Most teachers call more on their perceived high achievers to recite than those who are perceived to be less able. This is done for a variety of reasons:

- o Teachers don't want to embarrass a student whom they feel can't answer a question.
- o Teachers don't want to waste "time",
- o Teachers want the class to hear thoughtful, correct replies,
- o Teachers are reinforced by students who give correct answers. Teachers feel they are doing a good job teaching.

The net result is that if you think students are less able, they are given fewer opportunities to participate; because they do not participate, they become less able.

B. **Individual Help** - High and average achievers tend to seek more help and get more help. The students who need the most help are the ones who seem to get the least. Teachers tend to be reinforced by high ability students who:

- o understand and "use" the help,
- o request more help,
- o give more positive verbal and non-verbal feedback.

C. **Latency** - The time between asking a question and cutting off the opportunity to answer is labeled latency. Teachers tend to allow their high-ability students more time to answer questions than their low ability ones. If a good student hesitates, the teacher feels sure a response is being formulated; if a poor pupil hesitates, the teacher probably expects no answer. Opportunity to respond to questions varies according to the perceived ability level of the students.

D. **Delving** - When a low ability student looks hesitant or bewildered the teacher generally "lets them off the hook" rather than giving them clues or delving for answers. Delving, it is assumed, would be fruitless. Rephrasing questions, giving a clue, supplying more information, explaining a word, and asking a related question are ways of delving which can communicate high expectations.

E. **Higher Level Questioning** - In a survey of 163 experienced teachers, researchers found that 93% advised calling on lows only when they were likely to know the answer. In most cases, this probably means giving poor students questions which only require recall of information. As a result, low achievers are given fewer opportunities to practice higher level thinking skills. Instead, intellectual questions are reserved for students likely to give model answers. To the extent that low are limited to one type of question, a ceiling is placed on their learning.

Strand II: Feedback

How teachers respond to students can be examined through five types of interactions:

A. **Affirmation or Correction** - Most students would like feedback on how well they are doing-right or wrong, but perceived low achievers are less likely to find out. Teachers tend to call on poorer students less and are less likely to react to them at all. Poorer students were ignored 18% of the time compared to only 3% for high achieving students. Students need to know one way or the other how they're doing. Non-committal statements or sarcasm carry negative impact. Recognition conveys caring.

B. **Praise of Learning Performance** - Praise is used to encourage and reinforce desired behaviors, yet high achievers receive more teacher praise than low achievers. Research reflected that the amount of praise was not due to the better students performance; even when lows were right, they were less apt to be praised than highs.

Low-ability students tend to receive more criticism but because criticism is not correction, students do not learn what they have done wrong. Positive, specific feedback is helpful to all students. Phony praise does more harm than good.

C. **Specific Reasons for Praise** - Generalized praise such as "Terrific" or "Great," does not let students know what they did that elicited the praise. Praise, like criticism, should be constructive. Give students specific, appropriate information when they are praised, (e.g., "Bobby, you read that paragraph so expressively I could almost see the litte wet hen" instead of "Good job!").

D. **Listening** - Flanders found that teachers in high-track classrooms talked 55% of the time but talked 80% of the time in low-track classrooms. Lows spend considerable more time listening than being heard. Teachers need to stop monopolizing the talk time and listen to students more.

E. **Accepting Feelings** - Acknowledging, accepting, and clarifying feelings is an important behavior which rarely happens in the classroom. Less than one-half of one percent of time is spent on feelings or interpersonal relationships according to Adams and Biddle. Teachers who can react and clarify feelings can mobilize positive ones and successfully control negative ones.

Strand III: Personal Regard

Personal regard includes the kind of interactions which happen between teacher and students on a personal level. Personal regard involves five behaviors:

A. **Proximity** - Researchers found that some students were more likely to be asked questions than others, and that they sat in a particular area of the room. Students who sit in the T-shaped area-across the front and down the middle-are more likely to be involved in discussions or asked questions. Sixty-three percent of the time a student spoke, according to Adams and Biddle, she/he was in the first three seats in the T-stem.

Low achievers are more likely to be placed or place themselves at the farthest point possible from the teacher's usual location. Physical proximity to a student can be a powerful behavior which communicates personal regard.

B. **Courtesy** - Despite teachers' concern that students show respect to them and to each other, researchers found that many teachers showed little politeness toward students. In fact, the sheer rudeness with which some teachers speak to children is a matter of course. If adults do not model respect, how can we expect students to respect each other?

Another aspect of courtesy is that students will follow the model the teacher exhibits toward students of different ability levels. Rist observed a high level kindergarten student belittle a low level one - a direct imitation of the teacher's interactions with that student.

C. **Personal Interest/Compliments** - Allowing all students to share personal experiences or reveal interests is important. Studies have shown that perceived high achieving students are given more opportunities to share information about themselves. Drawing on personal interests or experiences can aid classroom lessons and demonstrates an interest in students.

D. **Touching** - Teachers tend to touch fast learners more often than slow ones. Untouchableness may suggest physical revulsion or fear even though it might be the teacher who may not want to be touched or to touch any student. This interaction does not dictate touching but rather asks if discrimination is present.

E. **Desisting** - A "teacher's doing something to stop a misbehavior" is labeled desisting. Desisting is a natural part of most classrooms; the concern is the nature of the desist and to whom they're directed.

Some student's interactions with the teacher are exclusively desists. Hoehn found that low achievers received a greater proportion of conflicting/dominating teacher contacts while highs had more supportive communications. Desists, sometimes, can be directed at particular students even though they were not alone in misbehaving. Desists which are delivered in a calm, courteous way rather than insulting or a personal attack on a student's character are more effective.

Student Behavior

Brophy (1982) points out that this phenomenon of differentiated teacher behavior is not merely based on the teacher's behaviors and perceptions; high and low ability students behave differently toward the teacher. This differentiated student behavior also has an impact on how the teacher behaves. High achievers tend to be more attentive and engaged in lessons, are more likely to volunteer, respond correctly, complete independent work, cooperate with rules and expectations, and share a positive or neutral relationship with the teacher. If teachers were to react only to the student behavior that confronts them, the higher students would receive more response opportunities, have more academic interactions, and receive more praise. Thus, it is not just the teacher's expectations which cause differences in student behavior; interactions between students toward the teacher also cause behavioral differences.

Teacher Behavior

The teacher's characteristics and attitudes also play a role in forming student expectations. Brophy and Evertson (1976) found that successful teachers had belief systems which reflected positive attitudes that they could teach and that students could learn. Teacher efficacy plays an important role in the development of teacher expectations. Other aspects involving the teacher are:

- personal responsibility for student learning
- flexibility vs. rigidity
- cognitive complexity
- tolerance for ambiguity
- coping and defense mechanisms

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CLASSROOM

Appropriate teaching behavior communicates high expectations to students. It is not enough to merely have high expectations; an awareness of behaviors and different teaching techniques which will make a difference to students is essential. Some guidelines have been identified by Brophy.

1. Concentrate on how to teach (or re-teach) the content to the whole class using strategies to meet individual differences.

2. Keep expectations for individuals current by monitoring their progress closely: stress present performance over past history.

3. Set goals for the group and the individual in terms of floors (minimally acceptable standards), not ceilings. Let group progress rates, rather than arbitrarily adopted limits, determine how far the group can go within the time available.

4. In individualized instruction and when giving students feedback, stress continuous progress relative to previous levels of mastery rather than normative comparisons or comparisons between individuals.

5. In giving students feedback, stress progress and not merely evaluation of success or failure.

6. When students do not understand an explanation or demonstration, diagnose their learning difficulties by breaking down the task or reteaching it in a different way rather than merely repeating the same instructions or giving up in frustration.

7. In general, think in terms of stretching the students' minds by stimulating and encouraging them to achieve as much as they can and not think in terms of "protecting" them from failure or embarrassment.

Readings

Brookover, W., Beamer, L., Efthim, H., Hathaway, D., Lezotte, L., Miller, S., Passalacqua, J.& Tornatzky, L. Creating Effective Schools: An inservice program for enhancing school learning climate and achievement. Holmes Beach, FL:1982. Module 2:p.55-75. & Module 5:p. 123-148.

Brophy, Jere (1982) "Research on the self-fulfilling prophecy and teacher expectations." Series 119, East Lansing, MI: The Institute for Research on Teaching, Michigan State University.

Carin, Arthur & Sund, Robert. (1972) Developing questioning techniques: A self-concept approach. Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrel Publishing Company.

Good, Thomas L. and Brophy, Jere E. (1978) Looking in Classrooms. Harper & Row, Publishers.

Good, Tom. (Feb., 1981). "Teacher expectation and student perceptions: A decade of research." Educational Leadership, pp. 415-422.

Kerman, Sam. (1979). "Teacher expectations and student achievement." Phi Delta Kappa, 60, pp. 716-718.

Moran, Lyn. (1981, Summer). "Some are more equal than others?" What's Noteworthy on School Improvement. Kansas City, MO: McRel, p. 32-37.

EXPECTATIONS	IMPLEMENTATION SUGGESTIONS

1. Read articles in the bibliography and discuss the ideas with staff.

2. Arrange for training in "Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement (TESA) (contact regional facilitator).

3. Follow-up TESA training with continued classroom observation between teachers.

4. Have teachers set minimally acceptable standards in their subject area (or floors) rather than ceilings for groups and for individuals.

5. Arrange for training in mastery learning.

6. Arrange for training in higher level thinking skills.

7. Review module on Characteristic 11: Teacher-designed Instruction (when available).

8. Review module on Characteristic 12: Flexible Grouping (when available).

9. Read "Creating Effective Schools" by Brookoever (etal.).

10. Discuss with staff, ways to communicate high expectations to students. Brainstorm strategies.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Raymond S. and Biddle, Bruce J. Realities of Teaching: Explorations with Video Tape. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970.

Adams and Biddle found that physical placement in the classroom affected the extent of pupil participation. "Pupils up and down the center line of the classroom are the ones who are most likely to join in the discussion, and the ones the teacher is most likely to talk to. Others away from the center line are much less likely to speak or be spoken to."

Amidon, Edmund, and Simon, Anita. "Teacher Pupil Interaction," Review of Educational Research, 35 (April, 1965), 130-139.

A 1964 study by Hilda Taba is reported in which twenty elementary teachers were trained to raise the level of thought processes used by their pupils. Taba found that some children of low IQ performed on the same high level of abstraction and with the same frequency of participation as did some children of high IQ when their teachers used appropriate strategies.

Baker, Katherine D., and Snow, Richard E. Teacher Differences as Reflected in Student Aptitude Achievement Relationships. Stanford: School of Education, Stanford University, 1972.

Student teachers received training in probing and reinforcement. As they became more skillful, the relationship between the student's aptitude test scores and achievement in the class was weakened. Baker and Snow concluded that greater use of reinforcement and probing skills by a teacher reduces the effect of prior aptitude on student achievement during a specific lesson.

Bloom, Benjamin S. (ed.). Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956.

Brophy, Jere E., and Good, Thomas L. Teacher-Child Dyadic Interaction: A Manual for Coding Classroom Behavior. Report Series No. 27. Austin, Texas: The Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, The University of Texas at Austin, December, 1969.

Brophy and Good use the term "latency" for the length of time that a teacher waits when a child does not immediately begin to give an answer to a question. "Long latencies would suggest a confidence in the child and a willingness to wait for him to respond." The response opportunity may be sustained by waiting or may be terminated by the teacher asking another child or supplying the answer.

Clark, Carl A., and Walberg, Herbert J. "The Effects of Increased Reading Achievement on School Attitudes of Potential Dropouts." Paper presented at the American Psychological Association, New York, September 2, 1966.

Clark and Walberg reported a number of studies involving the use of praise and other rewards with low achieving youngsters. Deliberate use of praise as a reinforcement was shown to increase academic achievement.

One interesting finding was that the teachers who used praise in this manner subsequently expressed more favorable attitudes toward the students with whom they had used this form of reinforcement.

Davidson, Helen H., and Lang, Gerhard. "Children's Perceptions of their Teacher's Feelings Toward Them Related to Self-Perception, School Achievement and Behavior," Journal of Experimental Education, 29 (December, 1960), 107-118.

The Davidson and Lang study relates to the entire Strand C, Personal Regard. A Checklist of Trait Names was developed to measure how a child felt about himself, how the child thought the teacher perceived him, and how the teacher saw the child. The checklist was completed by 204 junior high students and their teachers.

Davidson and Lang found that the more favorably a child viewed himself, the more favorably he expected to be viewed by the teacher. Favorability of teacher rating on the checklist was independently related both to pupil achievement and social class, but more highly to the former. Davidson and Lang concluded that "It is . . . likely that a lower class child, especially if he is not doing well in school, will have a negative perception of his teacher's feelings toward him. These negative perceptions will in turn tend to lower his efforts to achieve in school and/or increase the probability that he will misbehave. His poor school achievement will aggravate the negative attitude of his teachers toward him, which in turn will affect his self-confidence, and so on. This vicious entanglement must be interrupted at some point. The point of attack may well be the teacher whose capacity to reflect feelings conducive to the child's growth should be of concern to educators."

Davis, Allison, and Dollard, John. Children of Bondage. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940.

This study of Negro youth in the urban South delineates how the school distributes rewards in terms of social class and thus is a major force in supporting and maintaining a social caste system.

"The Negro lower-class child is usually not allowed by his teacher to make the goal responses of privilege. He sees the upper-class and upper-middle-class children being accorded preference, not only in classroom recitations but also in school entertainment

and in intimate friendship relations with the teacher. He finds that he is not granted these privileges; instead, he is stigmatized by teachers and their favored students on grounds of the ignorance of his parents, the dialect which he speaks, the appearance of his clothes, and, very likely, the darkness of his skin. It does not take him long to discover that something is wrong and that the teacher's pets of high status are the only ones who can make the prestige goal responses. If there is no reward for learning, in terms of privilege and anxiety-reduction, there is no motive for work. The lower-class child soon becomes a 'dummy'."

de Groat, A. F., and Thompson, G. G. "A Study of the Distribution of Teacher Approval and Disapproval Among Sixth-Grade Pupils," Journal of Experimental Education, 18 (1949), 57-75.

The de Groat and Thompson study found that sixth-grade children could identify classmates for whom the teacher felt approval or disapproval by using "guess who" scales. Teacher disapproval items included: "Often scolded for whispering;" "Scolded for not paying attention to what's going on in the room;" "Often scolded for handing in untidy papers;" "Often scolded for talking without raising his hand;" "Often pointed out by the teacher as one who is wasting too much time;" "Often pointed out by the teacher as one who is not doing his best work;" "Teacher often speaks to him because he does not have things ready when it's time to begin work." de Groat and Thompson found that children who were considered by their classmates to be experiencing a high degree of disapproval and little approval were less intelligent, less well-adjusted, less able students. Children who experienced the most teacher approval held better opinions of themselves, were more out-going, and had more confidence in their ability to adjust to social situations.

Dillon, J. T. Personal Teaching: Efforts to Combine Personal Love and Professional Teaching in the Classroom. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1971.

Dollar, Barry. Humanizing Classroom Behavior: A Behavioral Approach. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972.

A how-to book on positive reinforcement in handling discipline problems.

Duckworth, Eleanor. "The Having of Wonderful Ideas," Harvard Educational Review, 42 (May, 1972), 217-231.

Based on Piagetian theory, Duckworth suggests that the essence of the child's intellectual development lies in the testing out of ideas which the child finds significant. Duckworth suggests that teachers should accept the child's perspective as a legitimate framework for generating ideas. This approach in elementary science instruction is described.

Finn, Jeremy D. "Expectations and the Educational Environment," Review of Educational Research, 42 (Summer, 1972), 387-410.

Teachers were asked to evaluate essays written by fifth grade students. False information about the ability of the students was given to the teachers. Teachers from urban schools invariably rated higher the essays of children who they had been told were bright.

Flanders, Ned A. "Analyzing Teacher Behavior," Educational Leadership, 19 (December, 1961), 173-180.

Based on his interaction analysis studies, Flanders strongly recommended that teachers tell why in giving praise. He felt that this had a much stronger impact on the child than praise unrelated to a criterion.

Flanders also reported a study by Betty Morrison which made use of data collected by using Flanders' interaction analysis method. She found that high praise and low criticism were each related to some achievement sub-tests. Students whose ideas were most frequently used by the teacher made the greatest overall gains. One might conclude that the most able students have the most, or best, ideas or that recognition of a student's ideas is particularly stimulating to academic effort.

Flanders, Ned A. "Interaction Models of Critical Teaching Behaviors," in An Analysis and Projection of Research in Teacher Education. F. R. Cyphert and E. Spaights (eds.). Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, The Ohio State University, 1964, 197-218.

If all questions asked by teachers can be answered immediately, no latencies will occur. Flanders' studies using his observation method suggested that most teacher questions require little more than simple recall on the part of the student. "The majority of the questions asked by a teacher, who has been lecturing, are sufficiently narrow that they can be answered by a student in less than three seconds."

Galloway, Charles M. "Nonverbal Communication in Teaching," in Teaching: Vantage Points for Study. Ronald T. Hyman (ed.). Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1968.

In discussing his schedule for observing classroom nonverbal behavior, Galloway pointed out that the overwhelming interest in the analysis of classroom interaction has been verbal behavior. He suggested that teachers need to become cognizant of the consequences of their nonverbal messages to students. Because of the paucity of research in this area, we have little knowledge about whether teachers can modify the attitudes and meanings which they communicate nonverbally.

Ginott, Haim. Teacher and Child. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972.

Ginott presents a series of classroom vignettes which illustrate how teachers can use the reflection of a student's feelings to cope effectively with many different kinds of situations.

Good, Thomas L., and Brophy, Jere E. Analyzing Classroom Interaction: A More Powerful Alternative. Report Series No. 26. Austin, Texas: The Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, The University of Texas at Austin, September, 1969.

Good and Brophy used their observation schedule to examine teacher interaction with children perceived as high and low achievers in four first-grade classrooms. Children perceived as low achievers received fewer reading turns in reading groups, fewer opportunities to answer open or direct questions, fewer opportunities to make recitations, and were less apt to call out answers. Children perceived by the teacher as high achievers received more praise and less criticism than children perceived as low achievers. Even when a low child gave the right answer, he was less likely to be praised than a high child who had answered correctly.

When children perceived as high achievers experienced difficulty, the teacher repeated or rephrased the question or gave a clue 67% of the time. They gave the answer or allowed another child to answer 33% of the time. For the children perceived as low achievers, the teacher provided help only 38% of the time and terminated the response opportunity 62% of the time. Good and Brophy concluded that teachers demanded better performance from high expectancy children, and conversely were more willing to accept poor performance from low expectancy children.

Good, Thomas L., and Brophy, Jere E. "Behavioral Expression of Teacher Attitudes." Journal of Educational Psychology, 63 (No. 6, 1972), 617-24.

Good and Brophy replicated a study by Silberman of the differential behavior of teachers toward children for whom they felt attachment (If you could keep one student another year for the sheer joy of it, whom would you pick?), concern (If you could devote all your attention to a child who concerns you a great deal, who would you pick?), indifference (If a parent were to drop in unannounced for a conference, which child would you be least prepared to talk about?), and rejection, (If your class was to be reduced by a few children, which would you have removed?).

Attachment students generally conformed to institutional norms and knew the right answers. These students receive more praise than others, but less process feedback probably because teachers do not feel they need it. Concern students received the most process feedback and the teachers were most apt to stay with these children when they had difficulty reading or answering a question. Indifference students tended

to avoid the teacher, and the teacher initiated fewer contacts with them. When contacts did occur, the teachers provided high rates of process feedback. The rejection students were less apt to be given individual help or to be called upon, and more apt to be criticized. Teachers often failed to respond at all to their answers or to give them any feedback after their reading turns.

Good, Thomas L., and Brophy, Jere E., Do Boys and Girls Receive Equal Opportunity in First Grade Reading Instruction? Report Series No. 24. Austin, Texas: The Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, The University of Texas at Austin, 1969.

This study deals primarily with differences in response opportunities for boys and girls. A serendipitous finding was that with both sexes, low achievers were less apt to seek teacher contact. These two studies suggest that both contacts initiated by the teacher and by the child are less frequent for the low achiever.

Good, Thomas L., and Brophy, Jere E. Looking in Classrooms. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973.

In this teacher training textbook, Good and Brophy discuss question-asking behavior at length. Observation schedules for coding question-asking behavior are provided.

Good and Brophy emphasize prevention as the key to classroom management and make practical, easily applied suggestions. They suggest that children behave as they think the teacher expects. Teacher credibility is damaged when what she says does not conform with what she seems to expect.

Good, Thomas L., and Brophy, Jere E. "The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy," Today's Education, (April, 1971), 52-53.

In their study of teacher interaction with children for whom high and low expectations were held, Good and Brophy found striking differences in the teachers' reactions to children's responses. Teachers failed to react in any way to a child's response to a question in 3% of the interactions with high expectancy children; this occurred in 18% of the interactions with low expectancy children.

Good and Brophy also found that, "Even though the highs gave many more right answers and fewer wrong ones than the lows, they were twice as likely to receive praise for a correct response and only one-third as likely to receive criticism for an incorrect response."

Good, Thomas L., and Brophy, Jere E., Teachers' Communication of Differential Expectations for Children's Classroom Performance. Report Series No. 25. Austin, Texas: The Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, The University of Texas at Austin, 1969.

Some aspects of our project replicate Good and Brophy's experiments in which they observed teacher's dyadic interactions with elementary students whom the teacher perceived as low achievers. The teachers were unaware of the specific behaviors being observed and recorded. Good and Brophy were particularly concerned with response opportunities. They found that low achievers were less apt to initiate contact with the teacher than other children, and were less apt to receive individual feedback regarding their seat work.

Good, Thomas L. "Which Pupils Do Teachers Call On?" Elementary School Journal, 70 (1970), 190-198.

Good suggests reasons why teachers call on low achievers less often.

Gordon, Thomas, P.E.T. Parent Effectiveness Training. New York: Peter H. Wyden, Inc., 1970.

The P.E.T. training program for parents has been adapted to teacher inservice training and has reduced discipline problems in schools. P.E.T. emphasizes active listening and the language of acceptance.

Hadley, S. Trevor. "A school Mark–Fact or Fantasy," Educational Administration and Supervision, 40 (May, 1954), 305-312.

Teachers were asked to assign rank positions to their students representing the degree of liking or acceptance they felt toward each student. Hadley used the California Achievement Test as the criterion for the true achievement of the child. This was compared to the end-of-the-year marks given by the teachers. Hadley found that the most liked students received higher marks than their accomplishments (as measured by the CAT) justified. Of the 158 most liked, 50% got higher marks than their "measured attainment", while only 16% were marked lower. Of the 118 least liked, 50% were marked lower than "measured attainment" and only 19% marked higher. Hadley concluded that "teacher acceptance of the pupil and actual attainment are components, almost equally, in school marks assigned by the teachers."

Hart, Joe W. "Socially Mobile Teachers and Classroom Atmosphere," The Journal of Educational Research, 59 (December, 1965), 166-168.

Hart used the observation scheme developed by H. H. Anderson and his colleagues to examine differences in the classrooms of mobile and non-mobile teachers. Anderson's observation schedule was designed to identify socially integrative and socially dominative classroom climates. Dominative teacher behavior was defined as that behavior which restricts the actions of the child. Hart found that it made no difference whether or not the teachers were upwardly mobile; both groups of teachers gave more integrative contacts to students from high occupational backgrounds. However, upwardly mobile teachers tended to behave in a comparatively more dominative manner toward students from low occupational backgrounds than the non-mobile teachers.

Hoehn, A. J. "A Study of Social Status Differentiation in the Classroom Behavior of Nineteen Third-Grade Teachers," Journal of Social Psychology, 39 (1954), 269-292.

Hoehn failed to substantiate a hypothesized relationship between the quantity of teacher contact and the student's social class status. Low achieving students received more conflictive and dominative contacts, while high achieving students received more promotive and supportive contacts.

Holt, John. How Children Fail. New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1970.

John Holt, in describing his experiences in "private schools of the highest standards and reputation", suggests several theories related to the child's reaction to teacher feedback.

"A teacher who asks a question is tuned to the right answer, ready to hear it, eager to hear it, since it will tell him that his teaching is good and that he can go on to the next topic. He will assume that anything that sounds close to the right answer is meant to be the right answer. So, for a student who is not sure of the answer, a mumble may be the best bet."

"When you tell a child that he has done a problem wrong, you often hear a sigh of relief. He says, 'I knew it would be wrong.' He would rather be wrong, and know it, than not know whether he was wrong or not."

Holt suggests that communication barriers between teachers and students in ghetto or barrio schools can be resolved if the teacher treats the students' ideas with respect. "This is what respect means . . . It means treating them as if their ideas made some

difference, and when we treat people this way, whatever their age, color, or background, we find that communications barriers disappear and learning takes place. This is, of course, what ought to be happening everywhere in our schools - at Yale as much as in Harlem - and so seldom happens anywhere."

Horn, Ernest. Distribution of Opportunity for Participation Among the Various Pupils in Classroom Recitations. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1914.

Horn asked the teachers in 229 classrooms to rank their children in quartiles by ability. He then examined the distribution of response opportunities among these ability groups. The highest quartile did about 40% more reciting than the lowest quartile. This disparity increased with grade level so that in high school, the highest quartile does almost twice as much reciting as the lowest.

Hurlock, Elizabeth B. "An Evaluation of Certain Incentives Used in Schoolwork," Journal of Educational Psychology, 16 (March, 1925), 145-149.

Hurlock divided 108 fourth graders into four groups--praised, reproved, ignored, and control groups--of equivalent performance on an arithmetic test. The children were tested for four successive days. After each test, the praised group was verbally commended for their performance and the reproved group was criticized while the ignored group observed this, but were given no feedback about their own performance.

The praised children were the only group that showed gains in excess of those due to practice (as measured by the control group). Both boys and girls increased in the praised group, but girls increased slightly more. After the first administration of reproof, the boys did slightly better than following praise and the girls slightly worse. With continued use, reproof lost its effectiveness. The ignored children showed less improvement the longer they were ignored. The groups were further divided into thirds by ability. The low ability students were the most responsive of the three groups to praise while the highs were the most responsive to reproof.

Jackson, Philip W. Life in Classrooms. New York: Holt, Rinehart and and Winston, 1968.

Jackson reported a study of students' feelings about school and the extent to which teachers were able to predict the feelings of individual students. Teachers were significantly more accurate in predicting the feelings of children with high IQ's than children with low IQ's.

Lanzetta, J. T. and Hannah, T. E. "Reinforcing Behavior of 'Naive' Trainers," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. (1969), 245-252.

Lesniak, Robert J., Lohman, Ernest E., and Churukian. George A. "Verbal Behavior Differences Between Inner-City and Suburban Elementary Teachers," Urban Education, 7 (April, 1972), 41-48.

Flanders' interaction analysis system was used to compare the verbal behavior of 45 suburban school teachers and 45 inner-city school teachers. Among the significant differences found were the following. Inner-city teachers gave more directions and criticized their students more. They asked fewer questions, and they accepted or clarified students' ideas less. The authors point out that other studies using the Flanders' system have shown that the "direct" teacher behaviors which the inner-city teachers used more often are related negatively to pupil achievement. Questions raised by the authors were, "Did the teacher utilize direct verbal behavior influence patterns before coming to the inner city, or did conditions in the inner city mandate that direct influence patterns be utilized for survival? Are the expectations of working in a 'difficult school' with 'difficult children' responsible for the more direct style of verbal behavior? . . . . The questions suggest that rather than dissect the learner for his inability to achieve, the teacher or teaching role should be dissected by each person who purports to be a teacher."

Lippitt, Ronald and Associates, An Inter-Center Program for Studies in Children, Youth, and Family Life of the Survey Research Center and the Research Center for Group Dynamics. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, n.d.

Lippitt and Gold conducted research on the socio-emotional structure in 39 elementary classrooms. They found that socio-emotional problems were created and maintained through a circular process contributed to by the individual child, his teacher, and his classmates. They then examined the classroom group as a source of difficulty for the child with emotional and learning problems. Their findings were that the child is very quickly labeled as less capable, and that this label does not change even if additional information refutes the evaluation. Other findings were that the child received little sympathetic feedback and that the group lacked standards concerning the support and acceptance of "different" children. Lippitt and Gold concluded that the teachers in their study failed to adequately model behavior patterns toward low status children which could be imitated by the pupils.

Mendoza, Sonia M., Good, Thomas L., and Brophy, Jere E. "Who Talks in Junior High School Classrooms?" N.D. (Mimeographed).

The Brophy-Good dyadic observation system was used to study interaction in four seventh grade classrooms. The student sample was 60% Mexican American and 39% Black. The children who were perceived as low achievers initiated the fewest work contacts with the teacher. The middle group (neither perceived as high or low) both

initiated the most work contacts with the teacher and received the most teacher-initiated contacts. In all, the middle group received twice as much work contact with the teacher.

Mercer, Jane R. "Evaluation Procedures and Needs Assessment in Integrated Education." Address delivered to the Needs Assessment and Intergroup Relations Conference sponsored by the Office of the Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools, October 27, 1971, Montebello, California.

Dr. Mercer described the results of a study of the desegregation process in Riverside, California. "The status anxiety measure was a series of questions about 'Do you feel bad if the teacher doesn't call on you to answer a question when you raise your hand?' 'Do you feel bad if somebody else gets chosen to be captain of a team and you don't?' We found that black and brown youngsters had much more status anxiety . . . than the Anglo children. They are more readily crushed by not being called upon, not being recognized. We think this is a critical variable."

Nuthall, G. A. "A Review of Some Selected Recent Studies of Classroom Interaction and Teaching Behavior," in Classroom Observation. AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1970.

Among the studies reviewed is N. F. Furst's attempt to relate pupil achievement to measures taken from Flanders' and Bellack's systems of classroom observation. Furst compared the interaction in classrooms identified as high achieving with low achieving classrooms. Not only did the high achieving classes receive more positive feedback, but the pupils also experienced more extended participation. In low achieving classrooms, response opportunities were more frequently terminated than extended.

Perkins, Hugh. "Classroom Behavior and Underachievement," American Educational Research Journal, 2 (January, 1965), 1-11.

Perkins' study was based on the following propositions: (1) an individual responds to a situation in accordance with the way he perceives it; (2) areas, events, and activities having special significance for an individual are those that facilitate or threaten his maintenance and enhancement of self; and (3) behaviors that are reinforced tend to be repeated. Perkins used adaptations of observation schedules by Flanders, Kowatrakul, and Sears to determine whether the classroom behavior of underachieving pupils differs from that of achievers. One of his findings was that low academic achievement was related to withdrawal on the part of the student and criticism on the part of the teacher.

Powell, Evan R. "Classroom Climate, Pupil Intelligence, and Mechanical Skill Learning," Classroom Interaction Newsletter, 8 (December, 1972), 18-20.

When teachers deliberately praised, low ability students did as well as highs in tasks involving mechanical skills. The control group did less well.

Riessman, Frank. "Teaching the Culturally Deprived." NEA Journal. (April, 1963), 21-22.

Riessman suggested that it is more difficult for the disadvantaged child to volunteer. Therefore the teacher should make special effort to involve the child.

Riessman regards praise as a crucial strategy in teaching the group of children which he called "culturally deprived" or "disadvantaged." "Teachers should praise the disadvantaged child for every inch of progress because of his fear of failure which is a roadblock to his learning."

Rist, Ray C. "Social Distance and Social Inequality in a Ghetto Kindergarten Classroom," Urban Education, 7 (October, 1972), 241-260.

Rist observed one kindergarten class over an entire year. Early in the year, the children were placed in three groups. The group which was comprised of students for whom the teacher held high expectations received less than a third of the number of rebukes directed toward children for whom the teacher held low expectations. The teacher's expectations appeared to be based on socio-economic considerations rather than evidence of learning ability.

Rist, Ray C. "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," Harvard Educational Review, 40 (August, 1970), 411-451.

Rist observed the same group of children in kindergarten, first, and second grade in an attempt to discover how teacher expectancies are formed. He concluded that teacher evaluation commenced immediately upon the child's enrollment in kindergarten and that the teacher behaved differentially in terms of that evaluation. "Within a few days, only a certain group of children were continually being called on to lead the class in the Pledge of Allegiance, read the weather calendar, 'show and tell', etc." Throughout the three years, the same group of children enjoyed the preponderance of classroom verbal interaction with the teachers.

Rist also reported that the three teachers in his study communicated with and listened to the children for whom they held high expectations almost to the exclusion of the pupils for whom they held low expectations. However, Rist discovered in visiting the children's homes, that the low expectancy children were learning from listening

to the teacher and the high expectancy pupils and by discussing what they learned among themselves and at home. Yet the teacher described the low expectancy children "had no idea of what was going on in the classroom." Rist concluded that the teacher inhibited the children from verbalizing what they had learned and so assumed they had learned nothing.

The children for whom the teachers held high expectations frequently belittled the low expectation pupils. The direction of belittlement was never reversed. Rist's description of the classroom interaction leaves little doubt as to the courtesy behavior modeled by the teacher toward the low expectancy pupils.

Rogers, Carl R. Freedom to Learn. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1969.

Rosenshine, Barak. Teaching Behaviours and Student Achievement. London: National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales, 1971.

Rosenshine reviewed research based on classroom observations relating specific teaching behaviors to the academic achievement of children. Ten of the studies reviewed distinguished between mild criticism (indicating that a child's answer is incorrect) and stronger criticism. He found no evidence in the 10 studies that a teacher should avoid telling a child that he is wrong. However, teachers who use stronger criticism frequently have classes with low achievement rates in most subject areas.

In studies relating pupil achievement to teacher use of student ideas, Rosenshine found no correlation in most studies. However, those studies which broke this category of teacher behavior into several sub-categories produced positive correlations between pupil achievement and summarizing students' ideas and generalizing a students' ideas to new situations. Rosenshine concluded that the concept of teacher use of student ideas is complex and deserving of more intensive research.

Rowe, M. "Science, Silence and Sanctions," Science and Children, 6 (1969), 11-13.

Rowe reported that teachers waited significantly less time if a student did not know the answer for their less capable students than for their more capable students. Therefore, if the less able were not to lose their response opportunity, they had to respond much more quickly than high achieving students.

Silberman, Charles E. "The Schools and the Fight Against Prejudice," Prejudice U.S.A. (Charles Y. Glock and Ellen Siegelman, eds.) New York: Frederick A. Prager, Publishers, 1969, 136-149.

Soar, R. S. "Optimum Teacher-Pupil Interaction for Pupil Growth," Educational Leadership, 26 (1968), 275-280.

Soar's studies showed that the frequency of verbal hostility or reproof from the teacher was negatively related to pupil achievement. Of perhaps more interest is finding that a lack of teacher control, extreme permissiveness, was also negatively correlated. Soar concluded that an intermediate level of control was the most beneficial to pupil learning, that pupil growth was maximized when the teacher provided minimum structure.

Torrance, E. Paul. "Fostering Creative Behavior," in The Inner-City Classroom: Teacher Behaviors. Robert D. Strom, ed. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1966, 57-74.

Findings of the 1964 Torrance and Gupta study are reported. Of the seventh graders identified as potential dropouts, 43% indicated that they were afraid to ask questions in class. This statistic becomes especially meaningful when compared with the finding that 17% of a sample of fourth graders indicated that they were afraid to ask questions. The implications for the importance of individual helping are obvious.

U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Teachers and Students: Differences in Teacher Interaction with Mexican American and Anglo Students. Report V: Mexican American Education Study. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

This report is based on classroom observations. Mexican American students experienced more interaction with the teacher than Anglos in only two areas--giving directions and criticizing. In all positive categories, the Anglos experienced more interaction. Every teacher of Mexican American students should read this report.

Wallens, Norman. Relationships Between Teacher Characteristics and Student Behavior, Part 3. Project Report No. 2628 to U. S. Office of Education. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1963.

Wallens showed that frequency of teacher questioning was positively related to the amount of student learning in vocabulary, reading and mathematics.

Weiner, B. and Kukla, A. "An Attributional Analysis of Achievement Motivation." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 15 (1970), 1-20.

Yee, Albert H. "Social Interaction in Classrooms: Implications for the Education of Disadvantaged Pupils," Urban Education, 2 (October, 1969), 203-219.

Yee studied the interpersonal relations of intermediate grade students and teachers in 112 classrooms. The classes were differentiated as predominantly middle class and predominantly lower class. He concluded that the pupil's social class determined great and consistent differences in teacher attitudes. The middle class children had warm, trustful, and sympathetic interaction with their teachers. The teachers of lower class children were cold, blaming and punitive.

Zigler, Edward, and Kanzer, Paul. "The Effectiveness of Two Classes of Verbal Reinforcers on the Performance of Middle-Class and Lower-Class Children," Journal of Personality, 30 (June 1962), 157-163.

Zigler and Kanzer found that statements relating to the correctness of the child's performance were more effective than praise with middle-class children. However, lower-class children performed a simple task better when praised than when they were only told that their performance was correct.